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SOME KOUYUNJIK LETTERS AND RELATED TEXTS

BY LEROY WATERMAN

Among others, the following texts of the Kouyunjik collections in the British Museum were copied by me during a stay in London in 1911. According to the catalogue these texts with three exceptions may be classified as letters. The exceptions are K. 1545 and 83-1-18, 249 which are catalogued as reports and K. 992 which is described as a note on private affairs. 83-1-18, 45 is also called a letter or report. These designations, in so far as they are applicable, present no fundamental distinctions; and no definition of a cuneiform letter has been established which would exclude any of these documents.

Certain general features, however, may deserve a word of comment at this point. KK. 471, 884, 4786, 8379; 79-7-8, 293; 83-1-18, 1, 53, 121, 125, 361; Bu. 89-4-26, 4 and probably 83-1-18, 249 are addressed to the king. 83-1-18, 361 and Bu. 89-4-26, 4 have the usual introductory formula in such cases, *ana šarri bêlia arduka*, etc. 83-1-18, 1 and K. 471 use the form *ana šarri mâtâti*, etc. K. 8379 begins [*arduka* ^m ¹¹] *Marduk-apal-iddina ana dinân šarri bêlia lullik umma*, cf. H. 422, 542, 781, 803, 805, 832, 833, 835-37, 844, 899, 900, 913, 925, 930, 994, 999, 1016, 1027, 1047, 1072, and 1095. The introductory formula has been broken away in K. 4786, 83-1-18, 53, 121, 125. 83-1-18, 361 places the

formula of greeting to the king at the end as a colophon separated from the rest of the letter by an uninscribed space, as indicated in the text.

The name of the scribe has been preserved in only three cases, viz.: K. 8379, Mardukapaliddina; 83-1-18, 361, Ašurḫamatia, and K. 471 which is from the citizens of Ur. The writer is unnamed in K. 884, 83-1-18, 249, 81-2-4, 48 and 83-1-18, 199, although the author's identity is otherwise determinable from the context except in the case of the last two which are strictly anonymous.

83-1-18, 1 obv. 3-8 and rev. 6-7 contains three distinct omens.

81-2-4, 48 and 83-1-18, 199, though described in the catalogue as letters, are in reality oracular prayers which may have belonged to a series similar to Knudtzon's *Gebeten an den Sonnengott*. The obverse of the former was copied by Bezold, *Catalogue I*, 1756, but by a comparison with 83-1-18, 199 I was able to correct his reading er-ḫi, obv. 3, to si-ḫi. 83-1-18, 199 puts the reading si-ḫi beyond doubt since it will be observed that the obverse of both texts are duplicates as far as ippušu in line 6 and again in the reverse, the last two lines beginning with ezib.

We have then two prayers addressed to the same divinity concerning a reported uprising against Ašurbanipal. The oracular character of these prayers appears in the form of the question in each case. In the 81-2-4, 48, the questioner asks first, Is this uprising in the divine plan of things? and secondly, Will the rebels be successful and take possession? In 83-1-18, 199 the point of view is slightly modified, viz., Will the king successfully quell the uprising and will it be a hard struggle? Both texts then conclude with an ezib formula similar in intent to the ezib formulas in Knudtzon. I know of no other texts of this series.

Transliterations and translations of seven of these texts are given below with notes. The rest will appear in a separate article.

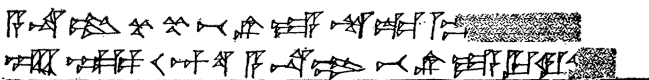
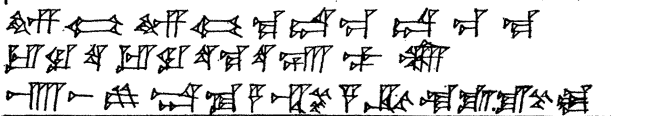
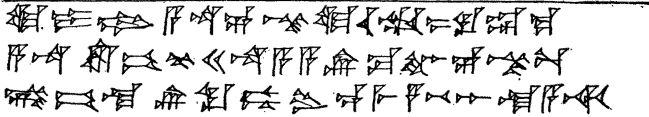
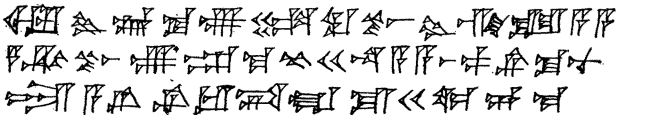
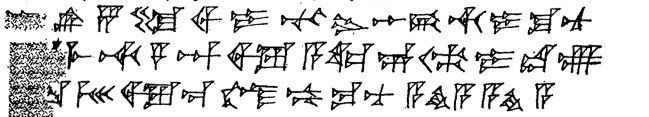
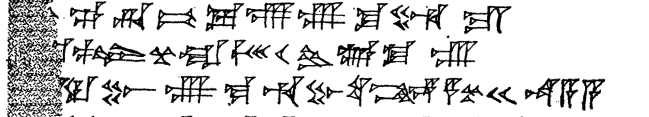
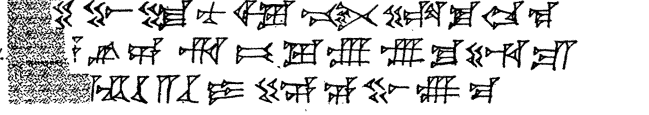

I am under great obligations to Dr. E. Wallis Budge, the keeper of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum, and to Mr. Leonard W. King, Mr. H. R. Hall, and Mr. P. S. P. Handcock, assistants in the department, for their courtesy and for the kind assistance which they afforded me during my stay in London. I am also under obligations to Dr. Sigurd Ylvisaker for several oral suggestions.

KOUYUNJIK LETTERS AND RELATED TEXTS

1

83-1-18, 1.


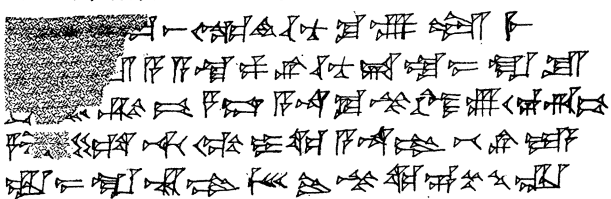
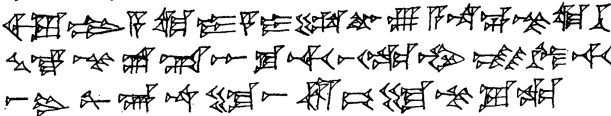
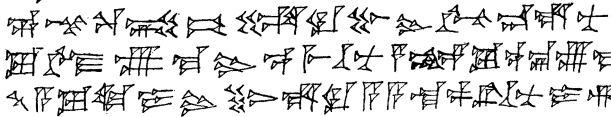
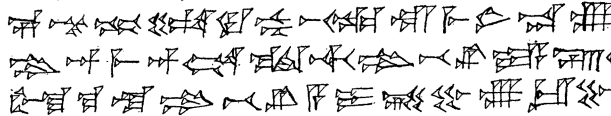

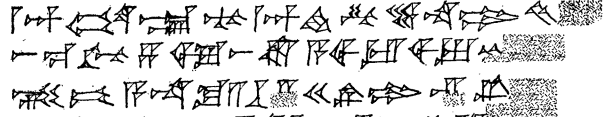
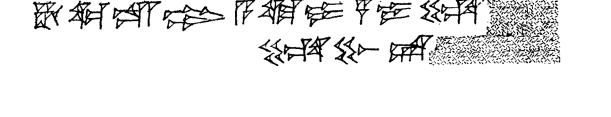

Obverse.

3. 
 6. 
 7. 
 12. 
 15. 
 18. 
 21. 
 edge. 

1 (Continued)


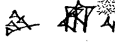
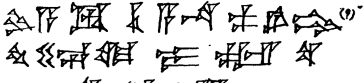
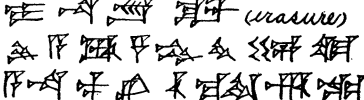
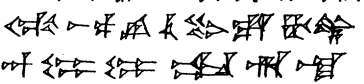
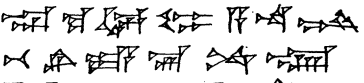
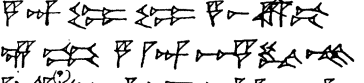
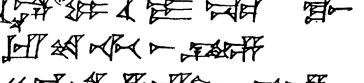
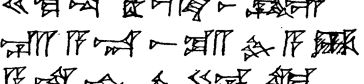
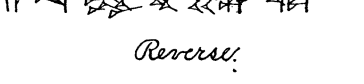
83-1/8, 1 (continued)

Reverse.

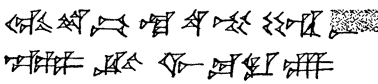
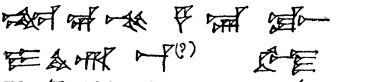
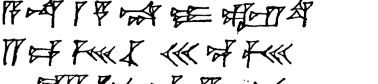
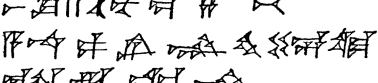
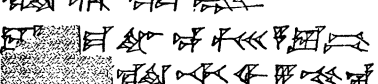

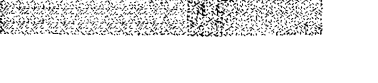

3. 
6. 
9. 
12. 
15. 
18. 
21. 
24. 
27. 

2

83-178/25.
Obverse.

- 
 3. 

 6.  (erasure)

 7. 

 12. 

 15. 

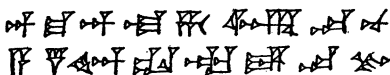
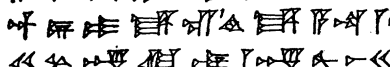
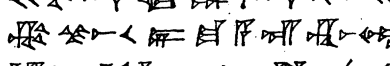
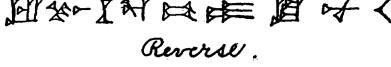
Reverse.

- 

 3. 

 6. 

 7. 

 12.

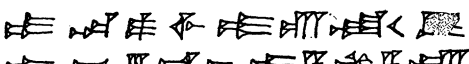
3, 4

81-2-4, 48.

Obverse.

3. 
 4. 
 5. 
 6. 

Reverse.

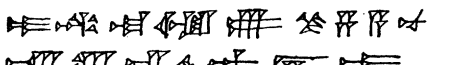
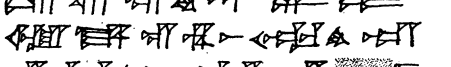
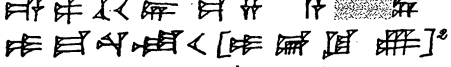
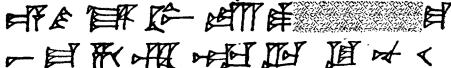
3. 
 4. 
 5. 

83-1-18, 199.

Obverse.

3. 
 4. 
 5. 
 6. 

Reverse.

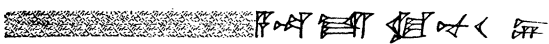
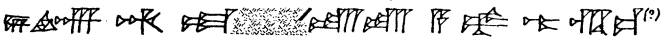
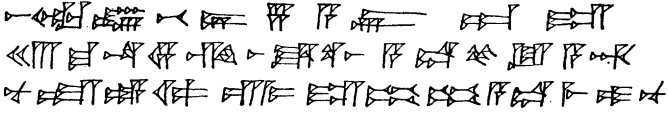
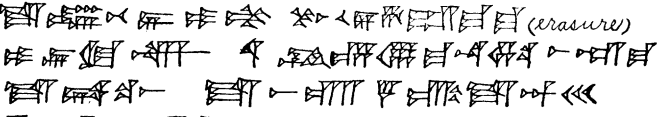
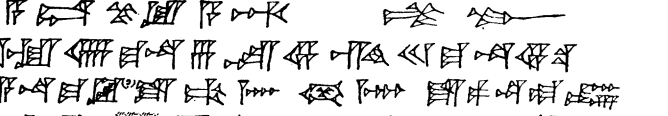
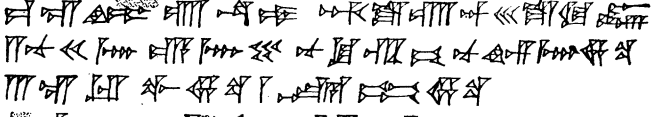
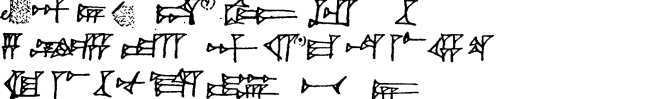
3. 
 4. 
 5. 
 6. 

¹ Written over an erasure.² Traces almost illegible; one can perhaps read as above following the verbal formula.

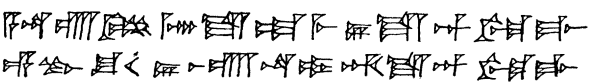
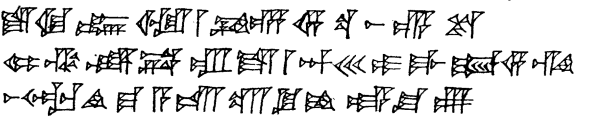
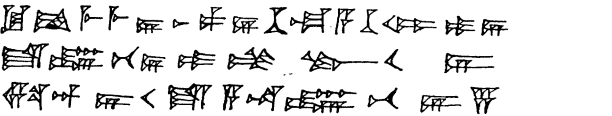
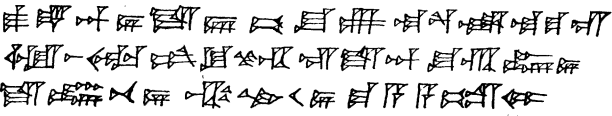
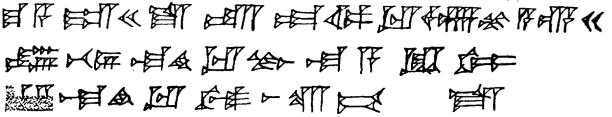
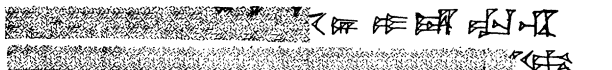
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77-78, 293.

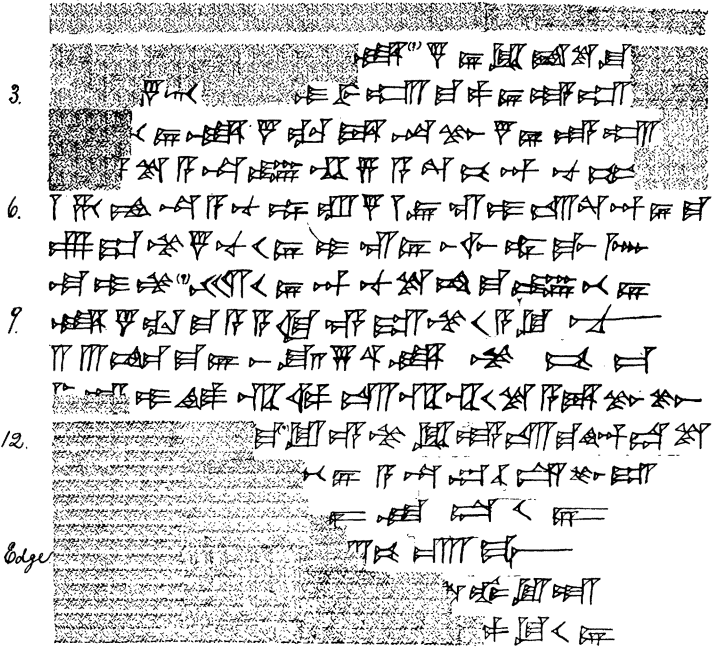
Obverse.

- 

 3. 
 6.  (erasure)
 9. 
 12. 
 Edge 

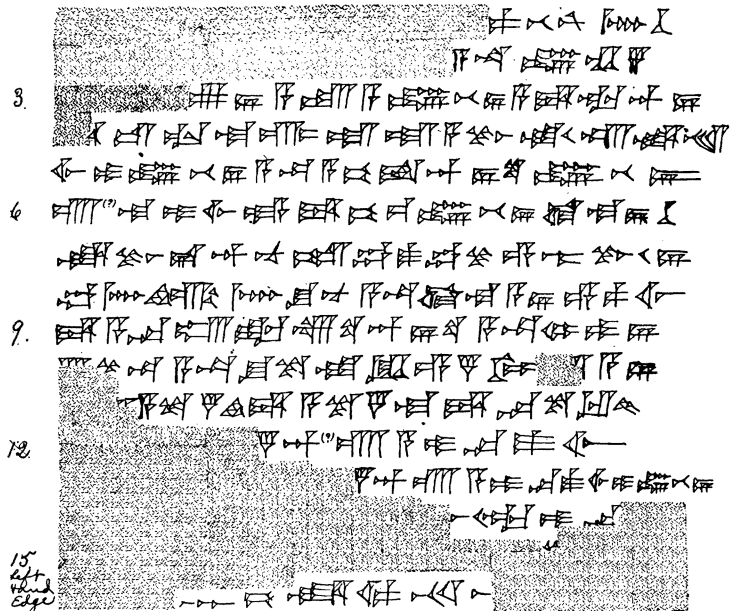
Reverse.

- 
 3. 
 6. 
 9. 
 12. 
 15. 

K 4786
Obverse.


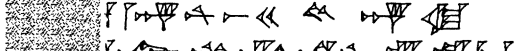
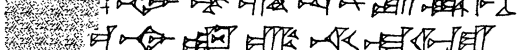
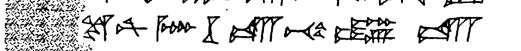
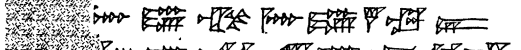
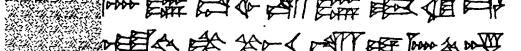
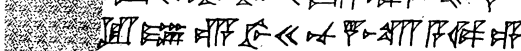
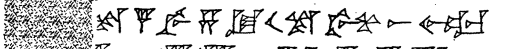
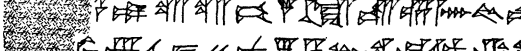

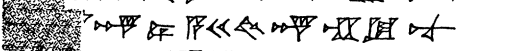
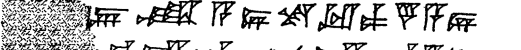
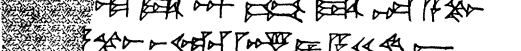
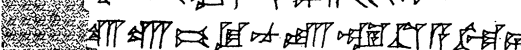
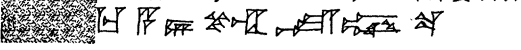
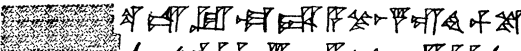
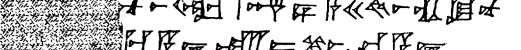
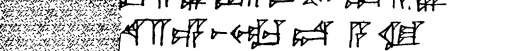
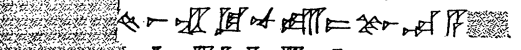
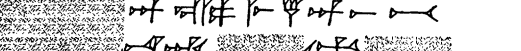









Reverse



7

83+18, 45.
Obrucel.

3. 




6. 



9. 




12. 




15. 




18. 



21.

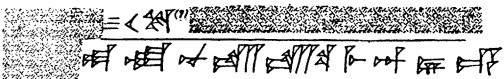
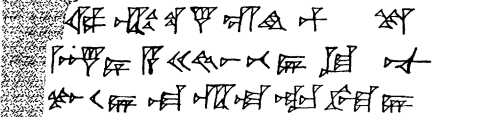
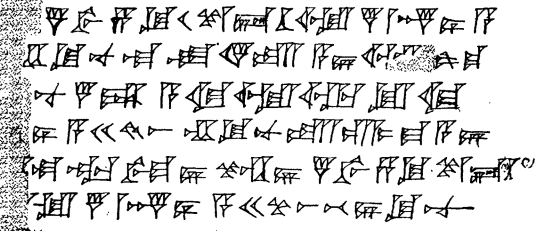
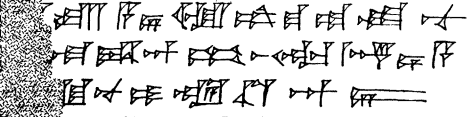
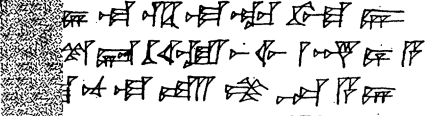
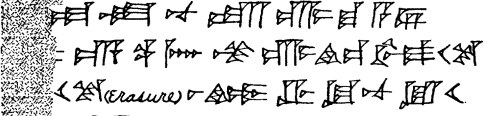
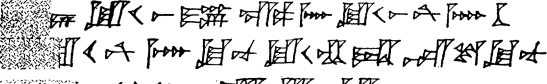
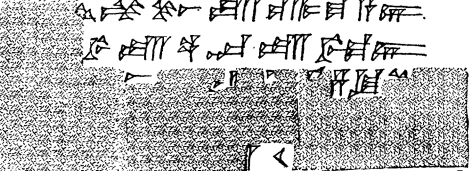
24.

- Edge*

7 (Continued)

83-1-18, 45 (continued)

Reverse.

3. 
6. 
9. 
12. 
15. 
18. 
21. 
24. 

8

83-1-18, 12/
Obverse.

- [Redacted]
1. [Redacted]
3. [Redacted]
6. [Redacted]
7. [Redacted]
12. [Redacted]
15. [Redacted]
- Colg. 4 [Redacted]

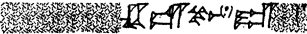
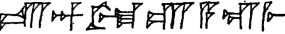
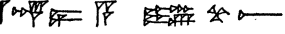

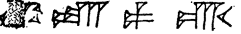

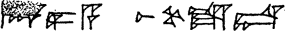
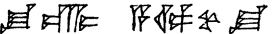
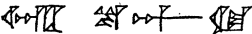
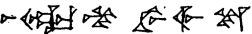
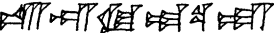


Reverse.

- [Redacted]
3. [Redacted]
6. [Redacted]
7. [Redacted]
12. [Redacted]
15. [Redacted]
- Left side edge.

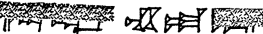

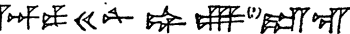
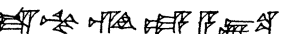
9

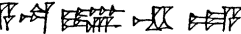



83-1-18, 361.

Obverse.

- 

 3. 


 6. 


 9. 


 12. 



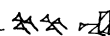
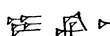

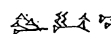

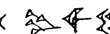
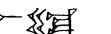
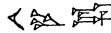
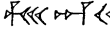
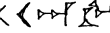
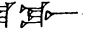
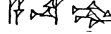
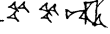



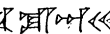
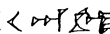
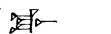
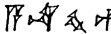


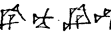
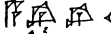





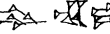

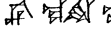

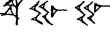
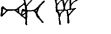
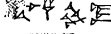
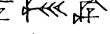
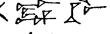
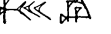

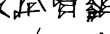
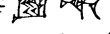


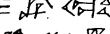
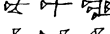



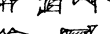



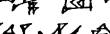

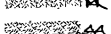
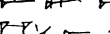
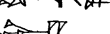

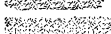
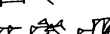
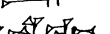


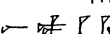



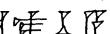



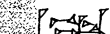
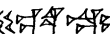

Reverse.

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 3. 



 6. 



12

K.471.
Obverse.

- 



- 



3. 



- 



- 



6. 



- 



- 



9. 



- 



- 



12. 



- 



- 



15. 



- 



- 



18. 



- Edge 




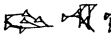
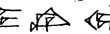
Reverse.

- 



- 



3. 



- 



- 




6. 



- 



- 



9. 






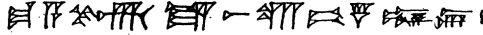
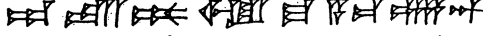
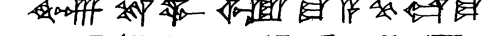
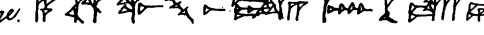


- 

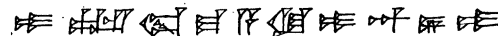




13, 14



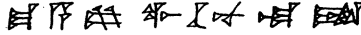
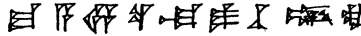
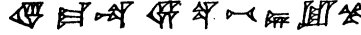

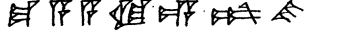
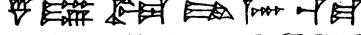
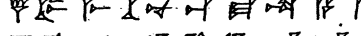
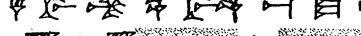



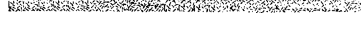
K. 1545.
Obverse.

- 

 3. 


 6. 


 Edge. 

Reverse.

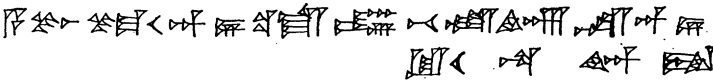
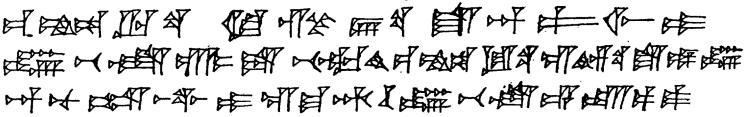
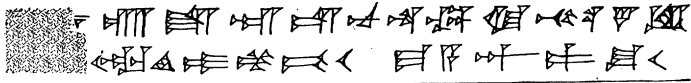
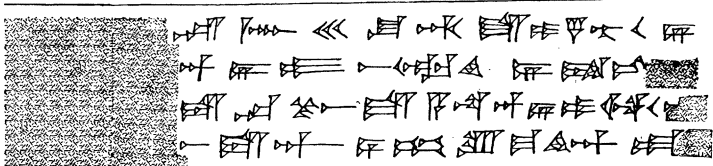
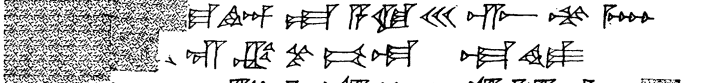

K. 992.
Obverse.

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 3. 


 6. 


 7. 


 12. 



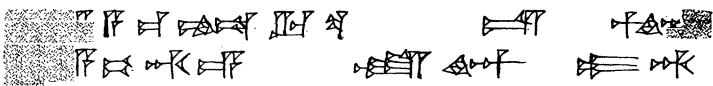
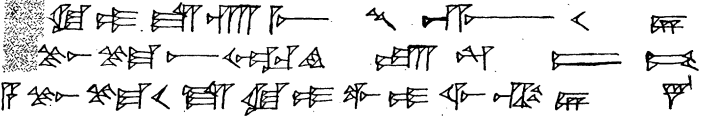
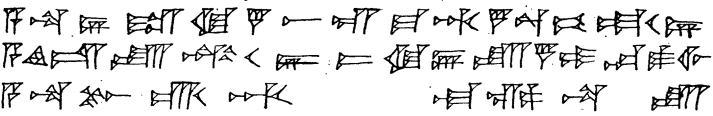
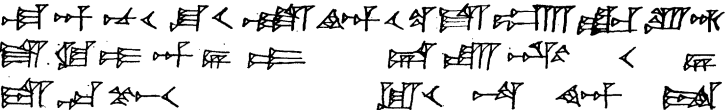
16

K. 884.


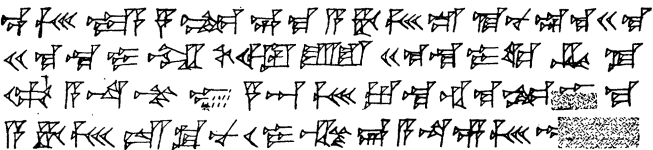
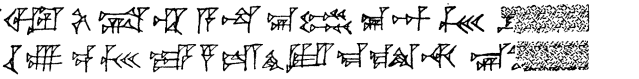

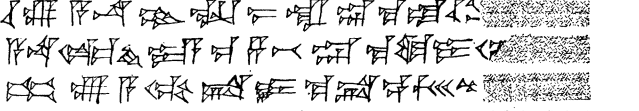
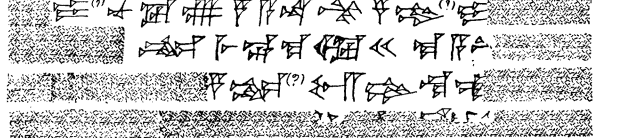
Obverse.

1. 
3. 
6. 
7. 
12. 
15. 

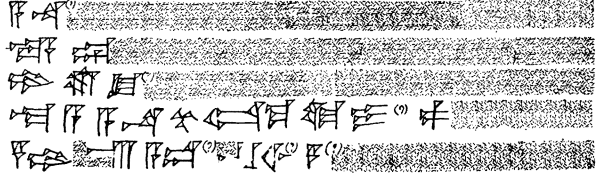
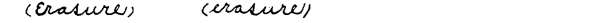
Reverse.

3. 
6. 
7. 
9. 

K. 8379.
Obverse.

3.  3.  6.  7.  12.  15. 

Reverse.

3.  3. 
- (Erasure) (Erasure)

1. 83-1-18, 1

OBVERSE

A-na šar mâtâtî be-lî-ia ardu-ka ^m[.

¹¹Bêl ¹¹Nabû u ¹¹Šamaš a-na šarri be-lî-ia lik-ru-[bu]

3. Ana ^{kakkab}šîr'û ^{iš}ti-pa-ri ištu šît šamši iṣrur-ma
ina erêb šamši irbi ummâni nakri ina mi-til-ša šumkât(ut)

Ana mûši ša-ri šûtu iš-kun iš-kun-ma

6. im-ṣur im-ṣur-ma izziz(iz) izziz(iz)-ma
ip-ru-ud ip-ru-ud-ma u-sa-pi-iḫ
rubû ina ḥarrâni illaku(ku) mimma šumšu bušû kât-su ikaššad(ad)

9. ki-i šarru a-na e-mu-ḫi-šu il-tap-ru um-ma
a-na lib-bi ^{mât}Man-na-a-a ir-ba-'a e-mu-ḫa
gab-bi la ir-ru-ub ^{amêl}šâbê ša bît-ḫal-la-a-ti
12. ù ^{amêl}Dak-ku-ú li-ru-bu ^{amêl}Gi-mir-a-a
ša iḫ-bu-ú um-ma ^{mât}Man-na-a-a ina pa-ni-ku-nu
šêp-a-ni ni-ip-ta-ra-su min-di-e-ma

15. ir ía tu ŠI i zêr ^{amêl}ḫal-ga-ti-i-šû-nu
[ma-a]m-me-ti ša ili ù a-di-e ûl i-du-ú
[^{iš}narka]bâti ù ^{iš}ṣu-ub-ba-nu a-ḫi-a a-ḫi-a

18. [ša ni]-e-ri-bi lu-ú ú-šû-uz-zu
[a-d]i sisê u ^{amêl}Dak-ku-ú
[li]-ru-bu-ú-ma ḫu-bu-ut bilti ša ^{mât}Man-na-a-a

21. [li-]ḫi-bu-tu-nu u lil-li-ku-nim-ma

EDGE

. ni-e-ri-bi lu-ú ú-šû-uz-zu

. ištên-šu šani-šu i-tir-e-bu-ú-ma

REVERSE

. i]ḫ-tab-tu-nim-ma ^{amêl}Gi-mir-a-a

. la it-tal-ku-ni e-mu-ḫa

3. ir]-ru-ub-ba ina muḫḫi alâni ša ^{mât}Man-na-a-a

. ¹¹Bêl-ḫa-pu-ú ša ^{mât}Man-na-a-a

. ú-ša-an-nu a-na kâti šarri be-lî-ia

6. i ûmi XV^{kan} a-ga-a ¹¹Šin itti ¹¹Šamši

[in-nam-r]u ina muḫ-ḫi-šu-nu šû-ú šêpâ^(me)

[^{amêl}Gi-mi]r-a-a la-pa-ni-šu-nu ta-at-tap-ra-su

9. [šum-]mu ik-kaš-ša-du a-na-ku mu-ṣu-ú u e-ri-bi
ša li-ti ûl i-di a-na šarri be-lî-ia
al-tap-ra bêl šarrâni ^{amêl}mu-di-e mâtî liš-al

12. ù šarru a-ki-i ša i-li-'i-ú a-na e-mu-ḫi-šu
liš-pur mu-uš-ta-ḫal-ku-ti ina muḫḫi mun-daḫ-ṣu-ti
ina ^{amêl}nakri dan-na-tu ina lib-bi tu-mu-lu-ka

15. e-mu-ka gab-bi li-ru-bu amêl¹Gu-du-da-nu
 lu-šu-ú-ma amêl¹šábê(me)-šu-nu ša bilti lu-šab-bit-ú-ma
 liš-a-lu ki-i amêl¹In-da-ru-a-a la-pa-ni-šu-nu i-ri-ku
18. e-mu-ku li-ru-ub ina muḫḫi alâni lid-du-ú
 šar ilâni ¹¹Marduk it-ti šarri be-lí-ia sa-lim
 mimma ma-la šarru be-lí-a i-ka-bu-ú ip-pu-uš
21. ina ¹⁸kussi-ka aš-ba-ta amêl¹nakrê(mes)-ka
 ta-kam-mu a-a-bi-ka ta-kaš-šad ù mât nakri-i-ka
 ta-šal-lal ¹¹Bêl iḫ-ta-bi um-ma a-ki-i
24. m ¹¹Marduk-šâpik-zêri m ¹¹Ašur-aḫ-iddin-na šar mât[Ašur
 ina ¹⁸kussi ù ina libbi a-ši-ib ù m[âti . . .
 gab-bi a-na kâti-šu za(?)-man-ni šarri bêli-[a i-di]
27. ḫa-di-iš šarru a-ki-i ša i-li-[’i-ú]
 li-pu-uš

(Obv.) To the king of the lands, my lord. Thy servant
 May Bêl, Nabû and Šamaš be gracious to the king, my lord.

When the constellation Virgo shines forth from the sunrise like a torch and in the sunset fades away, the troops of the enemy will be severely smitten.

When the south wind blows all night, and having blown all night, (still) continues, and as it continues becomes a gale; and from a gale increases to a tempest; and as a tempest does sweeping damage; the prince on whatever expedition he goes, will obtain wealth.

Whereas the king has sent (an order) to his army, as follows: “Enter into the midst of the Mannai.” The whole army (I assume) is not to enter. Let the cavalry and the Dakkû invade the Gimirai, who made the declaration, saying: “The Mannai pertain to you, we shall not interfere.” Certainly this is a lie(?). The offspring of their fugitives recognize neither the oath of a god nor a (human) agreement. Let the chariots and baggage wagons take up a position on either side of the entrance; (then) with the horses and the Dakkû, let them enter and plunder the produce of the Mannai; and let them return and at the entrance let them bivouac once or twice they entered and (Rev.) plundered and the Gimirai they came, the army shall enter against the cities of the Mannai Bêl-hapû of the Mannai will change. To the hands of the king my lord on the fifteenth day the full moon

appeared with the sun. This is against them. Wilt thou be hindered by the Gimirai? If they approach, their comings and goings . . . I do not know. I have sent a message to the king, my lord. May the lord of kings inquire of a man acquainted with the country and may the king, at his pleasure, send to his army raiders in addition to the other fighting men. A fortress in the midst of the enemy's country do thou provision for thyself. Let the whole army enter it. Let the Gududanu go forth and let their soldiers seize upon the produce and let them inquire whether the Indaru'ai have departed. Let the army enter against their cities. Let them overthrow them.

The king of the gods, Marduk, turns graciously to the king, my lord. Whatever the king, my lord, asks, he will grant. Upon thy throne thou art seated, thine enemies thou shalt take captive, thy foes thou shalt conquer, and the land of thine enemies thou shalt despoil. Bêl has spoken, saying: how Mardukšapikzêri Esarhaddon, king of Assyria . . . upon the throne and he is (now) seated thereon and how the whole land (is) hostile to his rule. The king, my lord, knows. Joyfully let the king do according to his pleasure.

In spite of the fact that the name of the scribe is missing and the reigning king unnamed, the historical and political situation in this letter is fairly clear. The land of the Mannai, bordering on Lake Van, had practically been an Assyrian protectorate since the days of Tiglathpileser I. The people rebelled under Sargon and received cruel punishment. Under Sennacherib, the Gimirai appear and, joining with the Mannai, they developed a situation almost identical with that represented in the present text. That it was not the same occasion is to be inferred from rev. 24, where Esarhaddon seems to be mentioned as a previous king. This would bring our text down to the reign of Ašurbânipal (668-626); and from the annals we know that there was a revolt among the Mannai during his reign. One of his campaigns due to Mannean aggressiveness is referred to in Knudtzon, No. 150.

The writer was evidently a military official of high rank, who enjoyed the close confidence of the king. It is noteworthy to observe such an official advising the monarch and planning campaigns that modify the king's order, and also go far beyond it. We know that the Rab-šaḫ, who made a campaign against the Mannai, was Nabûšarušur, also called Rab-mugi (cf. Klauber, 52²). We also know of an important campaign intrusted to him against the Gambulai in the southeast, and that he was sent on diplomatic missions to the city of Arvad and the land of Muṣri, cf. Knudtzon, Nos. 66, 67, 150, and 153. The traces of the name of the scribe in obv. 1 lend themselves to the above officer's name.

Obv. 1. On the use of *šar mâtâti* as an indication of the reign, cf. Behrens, 60².

Obv. 3. For the identification MUL.KI.=šir'û, also abšênu lit. "grain in the ear," corresponding to Virgo, cf. Jensen, 311; on the origin and significance of the name, *ibid.*, 500 f. For this use of SUR, i.e., iṣrur, cf. Thompson, No. 28, rev. 2, note.

Obv. 4. AN.UD.ŠU.A., i.e., erêb šamši, Br. 10828. In the reading mi-til-ša, the sign til (AŠ) touches the ša following, but the difference between this possible SUR and SUR in the line above is to be noted. Besides, SUR makes no sense here while mi-til-ša, lit. "its power," has a parallel construction in miḫ-ti-ša. Cf. Thompson, No. 187, rev. 7. Our form is perhaps to be supplied in Thompson, 246 E, obv. 2. RU+u t, i.e., šumkû t III¹ pm. of מִקֶּת. For this form in omens, cf. Thompson, 44, rev. 8, 50, obv. 2. For the general form of this omen, cf. Thompson, 187, rev. 5-7. The omen itself consists in the sun's having reached the zodiacal sign Virgo.

Obv. 5. Lit. "when the south wind has established a night of wind," i.e. when it has blown all night.

Obv. 6. iṣur I take as denominative of maṣartu, cf. HWB. 423a, lit. "kept the watch," and so "continued." DU+iz, i.e., izziz, lit. "stood," I take as part of a description of the wind's increasing force, "stand" being used in the sense of "be firm, steady," which, taken with what precedes, I have rendered by "gale."

Obv. 8. ŠA.NAM, i.e., mimma šumšu, Br. 12009. ŠA.GAL, i.e., bušû Br. 12015.

Obv. 10. irba' impt. of אָרַב; cf. ipša', H. 401, obv. 13; alka' H. 459, obv. 2.

Obv. 11. ZAB.^m, i.e., šâbê, for other cases of me for meš in this text, cf. rev. 3, 8, 16, 18, and 19. On bît-ḫal-la-a-ti, a fem. pl., cf. BAS, I, 211, and AJSL, XI, 198.

Obv. 13. ina pa-ni-ku-nu, lit. "in front of you."

Obv. 14. mindiema, cf. Johnston, JAOS, XVIII, 148, "when, if"; Figulla, 52, "vielleicht"; Ylvisaker, 64 f., "sicherlich." šêpâni nipta-rasu, lit. "our feet we shall restrain." I would regard this as a relative clause with the ša omitted.

Obv. 15. There are two uncertainties in this line that materially affect the context. The first sign may be almost anything and the third sign may be ša, as I first copied it, but following the eye I have written it ia. With much reservation I would supply pi as the first sign and read ša instead of ia, regarding the latter as due to an accidental scratch or a scribal error, transliterating pi-ir-ša-tu šî-i zêr amêlḫal-ga-ti-i-šu-nu and translating as above.

Obv. 16. The upright stroke in am of mamêti may be the sixteenth of an inch too far to the right; otherwise [ma-a]m-me-ti suits the space requirements.

Obv. 17. The ideogram for narkabtu seems fairly certain from the spacing, the traces, and the context. ⁱšsu-ub-ba-nu I would regard as an unusual pl. for the more normal šumbê(-âtîl, Del., *Gram.*, § 93a. 2. Cf. a-pa-a-ni for apâte, tēmâni for tēmâti, Ylvisaker, § 20.

Obv. 18. On the form ušuzzu cf. Ylvisaker, 38.⁴

Obv. 21. For the form li-bi-bu-tu-nu for lih-bu-tu-nu and for other examples, cf. Ylvisaker, § 8.

Edge 2. i-tir-e-bu-ú-ma for itêrbûma I² of אַרְבּ.

Rev. 1-6 are too badly broken to admit of restorations. The general thought, however, seems to be that the result of the campaign as planned by the writer would be the restoration of the Mannean cities to the king of Assyria.

Rev. 6-7 consist of a third omen, although not set off by lines as are the first two. For this class of omens, cf. Thompson, 153, 156.

Rev. 7. A verb is required at the beginning of the line and innamru corresponds to the usual form and suits the traces.

Rev. 8. ta-at-tap-ra-su IV² of פָּרַם. I would regard the overhanging vowel as interrogative.

Rev. 9. The traces favor the reading šum-mu; for other cases of šummu for šumma in the letters, cf. H. 25, 99, 101, 138, 378, 389, 453, 556.

Rev. 10. The first two signs are quite uncertain.

Rev. 13. mu-uš-ta-ḫal-ku-ti, III² ptc. pl.; mun-daḫ-ṣu-ti I² ptc. pl., both used substantively.

Rev. 14. tu-mu-lu-ka for tu-mal-li-ka II¹ of מִלָּא; for the u vowel before lu, cf. Ylvisaker, § 7c.

Rev. 26. za(?)man-ni I would take for zamâni. Cf. Del., *Gram.*, § 48. However, the equally possible reading a-man-ni, prs. of מִנָּה, is supported by a suggestion from Dr. Ylvisaker.

3. 81-2-4, 48

OBVERSE

ilu ma-an la-ḫa-ar ba-nu

a-ša-'a-al-ka da-ba-bu

3. an-ni-i šá si-ḫi šá a-na ^mAšur-bân-apli
šar mât Ašur^{ki} mâr ^mAšur-aḫ-iddina šar mât Ašur-ma
iḫ-bu-u-ni ma-a si-ḫu ina muḫ-ḫi ali
6. ip-pu-šu ḫa-bi-i ku-nu-u

REVERSE

i-ba-aš-ši i-saḫ-tu-u-ni(?)

i-kaš-ša-du-ni-i a-mu-a-ta

3. ina lib-bi i-ṣab-ba-tu-ni-i
e-zib ša sinništu ta-aš-ṭu-ru-ma
ina ma-ḫa-ri-ka ta-aš-ku-nu

4. 83-1-18, 199

OBVERSE

- [ilu ma]-an la-ḥa-ar ba-nu-ni
 [a-ša-'a]-al-ka ultu libbi da-ba-bi
 3. [an]-ni-i šá si-ḥi šá a-na ^mAšur-bân-apli
 šar mât Ašur mâr ^mAšur-aḥ-iddina šar mât Ašur-ma
 iḫ-bu-u-ni ma-a si-ḥu ina muḥ-ḥi ali
 6. ip-pu-šu ^mAšur-bân-apli šar mât Ašur^{ki}

REVERSE

- i-bal-la ù ú-še-ša-a-nu
 ultu libbi si-ḥi an-ni-i
 3. ù šá si-ḥu ina muḥ-ḥi ali
 e-pa-šu-u-ni iz-za-a[-zu-]ni
 i-ma-ḫa-tu-u [i-dak-ku-u]
 6. e-zib šá sinništu ta-aš-[ṭu-ru-] ma
 ina ma-ḥa-ri-ka taš-ku-nu-u.

3

(Obv.) O god, whomsoever it is good that I supplicate, I beseech thee concerning that matter of the revolt which they have reported to Ašurbânipal, king of Assyria, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria also, as follows: They are stirring up a revolt against the city. Is it decreed? Is it established? (Rev.) Will it come to pass? Will they take the aggressive? Will they conquer? Shall I die? Therein will they take possession? Heed not that a woman has written this and placed it before thee.

4

(Obv.) O god, whomsoever it is good that I supplicate, I beseech thee concerning that matter of the revolt which they have reported to Ašurbânipal, king of Assyria, son of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria also, as follows: They are stirring up a revolt against the city. (Rev.) Will Ašurbânipal, king of the land of Assyria, conquer and drive them forth from the midst of that revolt? And as for those who are stirring up the revolt against the city, will they stand? Will they fall? Will they kill? Heed not that a woman has written this and placed it before thee.

Concerning these two texts in general, compare the introduction. For the above translation of obv. 1, I am indebted to a kindly personal note from Professor Christopher Johnston. He would regard ma-a-n as a short form

of man-nu, la-ḥar for laḥ-ḥar, as a precative of מִן and banû(ni) as a pm. This rendering makes of these texts general formulae for enquiring of any god.

3, obv. 6. ḫa-bi-i ku-nu-u, both pms.; for the formula, cf. Knudtzon, p. 23.

3, rev. 1. i-saḥ-tu-u-ni(?) I² of מִן for issaḥtuni, ištaḥtuni, lit. rage; or shall we read i-ba-aš-ši-i kit-tu-u . . . following a suggestion by Ylvisaker.

Rev. 2. The reading a-mu-a-ta is quite certain but the form i-mu-a-ta, "will he die," referring then to Ašurbânipal, instead of to the writer, suits the context of both prayers much better. Nowhere else is there a question concerning the writer's personal welfare. The motive of both texts seems to center in the king and his well-being in the present emergency.

Rev. 4. For similar ezib ša formulae in prayers of this kind, cf. Knudtzon, IIIc.

4, rev. 4, we would expect iz-za-a-z-zu-ni instead of iz-za-a-[zu-]ni. The text, however, seems to exclude the latter reading.

4, rev. 5. On idakku-u, cf. Knudtzon, 57, rev. 4. We should expect the ending ni to be attached to both verbs of this line. The restored reading, however, follows traces which I felt excluded this in both cases.

7. 83-1-18, 45

OBVERSE

- ša ^{sal}Za-ku-u-te amat ša^m il Sin-a-[ḥê-ri-ba]
[ummi ša] ^mAšur-aḥ-iddina šar mât Ašur ki
3. [itti^m il Ša]maš-šum-ukîn aḥi ta-li-me-šu
[ša^m il]Samaš-mîti-uballiṭ ù
[ṣiḥ-ru]-te aḥê^(pl)-šu itti zêr šarri itti
6. pl amêl piḥâti amêl ša-ak-ni
. pl amêl âlik pâni itti amêl zak-ki-e
[amêl pi-ḳit-]tu mâti gab-bu u itti mârê mât Ašur
9. [itti ka-]lu amêlu edlu sinništu man-nu ša ina libbi a-di-e
[ma-am-me]-te ša ^{sal}Za-ku-u-te amti ina muḥḥi
[^mAšur-bân]-apli mâr lib-lib-bi ša ḥidûti itti nišê mâti gab-bu
12. [la is-]sal-û-u-ni man-nu ša a-bu-tu la di-iḳ-tu
[la ṭa]-ab-tu ù na-bal-kat-tu
[ina muḥḥi] ^mAšur-bân-apli šar mât Ašur bêli-ku-nu
15. [ta-as]-sa-li-a-ni te-ip-pa-ša-a-ni
. . . . la da-an-ḳu da-ba-a-bu
[la ṭa-]a-bu ina muḥḥi ^mAšur-bân-apli šar mât Ašur
18. [bêli-ku-nu i]na libbi-ku-nu ta-nak-kir-a-nin-ni
. . . . a-a-ni us-su-uk-tu
[la di-iḳ-]tu mil-ku la ṭa-a-bu ša si-ḥi bar-ti

21. [at-tu]-nu ina muḫḫi ^m Ašur-bân-apli šar mât Ašur bêli-ku-nu
[ta-mal-li]-ka-a-ni ta-dab-bu-ba-a-ni
..... ûmu šani-e ina muḫḫi du-a-ki
24. [^m Ašur-bân-apla šar] mât Ašur bêli-ku-nu ta-dab-bu-ba-a-[ni]
..... ¹¹SAG.ME.GAR ¹¹DIL.BAT

EDGE

..... du ti ûl

REVERSE

- u-te(?)
[šum-ma] at-tu-nu TA.TA ûmê(me) an-ni-e
3. [. . . la] di-iḫ-tu ša si-ḫi bar-te
[ina muḫḫi] ^m Ašur-bân-apli šar mât Ašur be-lí-ku-nu
[ta-kab]-bu-u-ni la tal-la-ka-nin-ni
6. [uz-ni] ša ^{šal} Za-ku-u-te ummi-šu ù ša ^m Ašur-bân-apli
[šar mât Ašur] bêli-ku-nu la tu-pat-ta-a-ni ù šum-ma
[at-tu]-nu ša da-a-ki ù ḫul-lu-ḫi
9. [^m Ašur]-bân-apla šar mât Ašur bêli-ku-nu ta-šam-ma-a-ni
[la tall]-la-ka-nin-ni uz-ni ša ^{šal} Za-ku-te ummi-šu(?)
[ù] ša ^m Ašur-bân-apli šar mât Ašur be-lí-ku-nu
12. [la tu-pat]-ta-a-ni ù šum-ma at-tu-nu
[mim-ma] la da-an-ḫu ina [muḫḫi] ^m Ašur-bân-apli
[šar mât Ašur bêli]-ku-nu i-nak-kir-an-ni
15. [ta-ḫab-ba-a]-ni la tal-la-ka-nin-ni
[ina pân ^{šal} Za-ku]-te ummi-šu ù ina pân ^m Ašur-bân-apli
[at-tu]-nu la ta-ḫab-ba-a-ni
18. [šum-ma] at-tu-nu ta-šam-ma-a-ni
..... kal šâbê mu-šam-ḫi-iṣ-šu-u-te
[ra-bu]-u-te ina bir-tuk-ku-nu lu-u
21. ni lu-u ina ^{amêl} šakê lu-u ina aḫê(^{mêš})-šu
[lu]-u aḫê(^{mêš})-ku-nu lu-u bêl ʔa-ba-te-ku-nu
[nišê] mâti gab-bu ta-šam-ma-a-ni
24. ŠAL ta-šab-ba-ta-nin-ni
..... aš ^{šal} Za-ku-[te
.....

(Obv.) The compact of Zakûtu, the maid of Sennacherib, the mother of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, with Šamaššumukîn, the companion brother of Šamašmîṭuballit and his younger brothers; with the seed royal and the governors, the prefects the deputies, with the magistrates, with the officials of the whole land, and with the Assyrian people, with every man and woman;

whoever are averse to the agreement and oath of Zakûtu the maid with the people of the whole land, concerning Ašurbânipal, the son of the offspring of favor; whosoever you are, who are parties to and who put into effect a wicked and treasonable plot and insurrection against Ašurbânipal, king of Assyria, your lord; with respect to the wicked plot, the treasonable plan against Ašurbânipal, king of Assyria your lord, you who in your hearts are hostile to me you who counsel and discuss a wicked scheme, a treasonable counsel concerning the uprising of a revolt against Ašurbânipal, king of Assyria, your lord, you who speak the second day, concerning the murder of Ašurbânipal, king of Assyria, your lord Jupiter, Venus (rev.) if you, from this day, shall utter a wicked speech, concerning the uprising of a revolt against Ašurbânipal, king of Assyria, your lord, if you do not come to me, if you do not reveal it to Zakûtu, his mother, and to Ašurbânipal, king of Assyria, your lord; and if you hear of a plan to murder and assassinate Ašurbânipal, king of Assyria, your lord, if you do not come to me, if you do not reveal it to Zakûtu, his mother, and to Ašurbânipal, king of Assyria, your lord; and if you utter anything unfavorable against Ašurbânipal, king of Assyria, your lord, which is hostile to me, if you do not come to me, if you do not speak before Zakûtu, his mother, and before Ašurbânipal, king of Assyria, your lord; and if you hear, whether you hear among any of the soldiers, the leading fighting men in your midst, or or among the captains, or among his brothers, or among your brothers, or among your friends, the people of the whole land, you seize me Zakûtu

The compact by which Zakûtu, the grandmother of Ašurbânipal, bound the royal family, the aristocracy, the government officials, and the whole people not to revolt against Ašurbânipal, nor, in any way, to aid or abet disloyalty of any kind and, on the other hand, to report all such cases either to Ašurbânipal or his grandmother.

The date of this document lies between the accession of Ašurbânipal and the revolt of Šamaššumukîn. Ašurbânipal is repeatedly named as king and Šamaššumukîn stands first in the list of loyal subjects. Are we dealing then with a coronation document? The fact that the text makes Zakûtu alone initiate this compact and carry it out "in behalf of" Ašurbânipal favors this hypothesis. If Ašurbânipal had for some time exercised the sovereign authority, we should, at least, expect him to be a joint partner to such an

executive proceeding as the above. In fact, any other occasion than his coronation makes Ašurbânipal too much of a weakling to be taken seriously; accordingly we may date the document in 668 B.C. The whole text is probably a single sentence constituting the oath of allegiance to the new sovereign, the apodosis being omitted or retained till the end, which has been lost.

Aside from the general character of this rather unusual text, three points demand special notice. First, the absolute supremacy assigned to Ašurbânipal, there being no hint here of any joint rulership of the two brothers. Šamaš-šumukîn's only distinction is to be the first of those who promise submission. Secondly, the queen mother of Esarhaddon was earlier known as Ni-ik-a, cf. Knudtzon, 101, obv. 2, etc., but Johns, *ADD*, 70, a contract of the queen mother's sister, mentions the former as Zakûtu. Cf. John's remarks on 83-1-18, 45 in *PSBA* (1905), p. 94 (*ibid.*, Laws, p. 370), based apparently on private notes, where he designates this text as a proclamation. Thirdly, the remarkable authority of Zakûtu, practically a queen regent for two generations, for in our text she not only promulgates the oath of allegiance to Ašurbânipal but, in the body of the agreement, she makes herself joint ruler to the extent of putting her own name first in regard to matters that may require executive action. Further, on the position of the queen mother in general and of the mother of Esarhaddon in particular, cf. Klauber, 24 f., Johns, *LCL*, 369 ff.; Winckler, *AOF* (1898-1900), 187-89. A subsidiary fact that heightens the effect of the authority of this woman is her earlier position as a ma-t, maid, concubine of Sennacherib, obv. 1, and the further fact that she apparently permitted this designation to cling to her even after she had become the first lady in the land, obv. 10.

Obv. 1. On the nominative form Zakûtu, cf. *ADD*, No. 645 (82-5-22, 90), on the basis of which Johns first identified Naika (Nakia) with Zakûtu; cf. Meissner on Naki'a in *MVAG*, VIII, 12-15.

The exact word to be supplied may not be certain but a mât meets the requirements.

Obv. 2. [ummi ša] is verified by rev. 6 and 16.

Obv. 3. TA, i.e., [itti] is required at the beginning of the line by the context, the spacing, and the usage below.

Obv. 4. [ša . . . at the beginning is required from the talîme-šu preceding. On Šamašmîtaballî, cf. Behrens, 26¹.

Obv. 5. . . . te might conceivably be the end of a proper name. If so it is certainly not the name of any of the sons of Esarhaddon so far known, nor would such a name meet the requirements of the context. What we clearly need is a term which will include all the brothers of Ašurbânipal. Šamaššumukîn the eldest, at least apart from Ašurbânipal, (cf. Godbey, *OSP*, 42 ff., and Johns, *AJSL*, XXII, 232 f.) is appropriately named first, and [šihru-]te is therefore the most natural word to include all the rest. Zêr šarri will then include other royal kinsman of the reigning house, as well as of previous reigning houses, i.e., the seed royal.

Obv. 6-7. Two officials are missing at the beginning of these lines. The singular forms are to be taken collectively. For the occurrence of these officials in the H. letters, cf. Godbey, *OSP*, 10-18, Klauber, 8.

Obv. 8. The word ending in . . . tu is conditioned by the mâti gabbu following and for that reason it would hardly seem to be another class of officials. What is needed is a term to contrast with the mârê mât Ašur. I would read, therefore, as above, amêlpiḳittu, regarding the term as a summary of all the appointed officials.

Obv. 12. I take is-]sal-ú-u-ni as I² of שאל. For di-iḳ-tu = da-miḳ-tu, cf. Klauber, 43², for 'discussion and references.

Obv. 16. The missing word is some such synonym of dabâbu as ṭêmu, milku, or possibly dibbu.

Obv. 18. T]A at the beginning I regard as ina. For ta-nak-kir-a-nin-ni we may read ta-nak-kil-a-nin-ni, but in view of the 3d pers. construction in rev. 14, I have accepted the former.

Obv. 19. Ussuktu I would regard as the feminine abstract from the same root as usukku, *HWB*, 108 f., "eingeschlossener Raum," and so in the abstract, that which is shut off, secret, hidden, applicable then to secret plan, plot, which suits the present context.

Obv. 20. My text reads mil-lu; for the emendation mil-ku I am indebted to a suggestion from Dr. Ylvisaker.

Obv. 23. The lack of a clue to the first word destroys the context from here to the end of the obverse. du'aki inf. of דרך, cf. Ylvisaker, § 32.

Rev. 1 may contain the name Za-ku-te. The line is a mark of separation. What precedes consists of a series of indirect conditions; what follows presents a series of direct conditions, each introduced by šum-ma, cf. rev. [2], 7, 12, and [18].

Rev. 2. TA=ištu; the second TA I would regard as a case of dittography. Or should we read ta-ta-tam-me?

Rev. 3. Amâta is perhaps the form lacking at the beginning of the line.

Rev. 7. tu-pat-ta-ni requires uz-ni.

Rev. 22. ṭa-ba-te- really ṭa-zu-te, in my text probably a scribal error. On bêl ṭâbtî cf. Klauber, *AJSL*, XXVII, 331 ff.

10. Bu. 89-4-26, 4

OBVERSE

(Practically disintegrated.)

REVERSE

[m il] Marduk-šar-ušur

[p]a-ḳi-id is-si-i

3. e-pu-uš u-ma-a

di(?)-e-ni la-a e-pa-aš

da-ba-bu ša šarri la iš-me

6. e-ni ša amēlpihāti i-da-gal
a-ni-na šarru be-lu di-e-nu
šá abi-ka e-pu-šu-u-ni
9. ʔe-e-mu iš-ku-nu-u-ni
ú-ma-a an-nu ú-sa-bal-ki-tu
ù a-na-ku itti bît abi-ia gab-bu
12. ki-i kal-bi a-sa-ap-pu-'u
ana me-ni-ia la aḥ-ri-id
ma-šar-tu ša šarri bēl-ia la-šur
15. dūru ma-ki-i šarru šarru be-li
ki-i šá i-la-u-ni li-pu-uš
man-nu at-ta amēl dupšarru
18. šá ta-sa-su-u-ni
ištu pân šarri bēli-ka la tu-pa-zar(?)
ʔa-ab-ti ina pân šarri ʔi-bi
21. Bēl ¹¹Nabû ʔa-ab-ta-ka
ina pân šarri liḫ-bi-ú

(Rev.) Mardukšarušur the officer has done as follows my rights he does not establish. He has not hearkened to the word of the king. He is subservient to the governor, since the time the king, my lord, began to render to me the justice of thy father and to place it on record. Now they stir up opposition; and I, with the whole house of my father, am supplicating like a dog. Why am I discarded? I would keep the watch of the king. The fortress is neglected(?). May the king my lord act according to his pleasure. Whoever thou art, O secretary, who dost read (this) before the king thy lord, do not conceal my good deeds. Declare them before the king. May Bēl and Nabû declare thy good deeds before the king.

The appeal of a former favorite of royalty for deliverance from the oppression of subordinate officials and for restoration to a place of trust. The obverse apparently recounted the writer's past faithfulness, cf. rev. 19-20.

Rev. 1. Owing to the incomplete lines, the relation of Mardukšarušur to the writer is not clear. For a man of this name, cf. Klauber, 75; Johns, *LCL*, 352.

Rev. 7. a-ni-na, as suggested by Ylvisaker, is to be taken as equivalent to eninna.

Rev. 12. On a-sa-ap-pu-u from sapû, pray, supplicate, cf. H. 382, obv. 6; 659, rev. 8, and Ylvisaker, 53.

Rev. 13. Is ana(TA) me-ni-ia to be taken as an equivalent to ammêni? The ground meaning of ḥarâdu is uncertain; cf. *HWB* and Behrens, 8.

Rev. 14. la-šur for lu-aššur, prec. of נָצַר.

Rev. 15. ma-ki-i, I would regard as a pm. of מִכָּה; cf. *HWB*, 407a, and Winckler, *Amarna Briefe*, 16:18, im-te-ki, "neglect" (?).

11. 83-1-18, 53

OBVERSE

- a-ni-ni ša ina ḳabal-tim
 amēl Pu-ḳu]-du ina muḫ-ḫi-ni
 [ana muḫḫi šarri] bēl-i-ni ni-sap-par-ma
 e]-mu-ḳu a-na ki-tir-i-ni
 6. [li-is-sa]p-pa-ra u amēl Gu-ra-sim-mu
 t]i-ni ú-šu-uz-zu amēl nakri a-na muḫ-ḫi-šu-nu
 i]l-li-ku aš-šu i-mu-ru-ú-ma
 9. ṭe-e-mu ša mât Ašur^{ki} la-pa-ni-šu-nu i-ri-ḳu
 u man-ma amēl bēl piḫâti a-na ki-tir-šu-nu
 la il-li-ku ḳâtâ a-na amēl nakri it-tan-nu
 12. NUN.KI u Uru^{ki} ša ri-e-ḫi ki-i
 il-'i-u it-ti amēl nakri it-ta-ši-iz-zu
 a-du-ú amēl Gu-ra-sim-mu gab-bi it-ti-ik-ru
 15. alu ina lib-bi ša it-ti mât Ašur^{ki} ú-šu-uz-zu
 ia-a-nu al-la Uru^{ki} al Ki-sig
 u al ŠA-AD.iddina u šarru bēl-a-ni i-di
 18. ki-i Uru^{ki} ina ḳabal mât Akkad^{ki} i-

EDGE

šú-u

REVERSE

- a-na lib-bi ša ri-eš-su it-ti E^{pl}-ni
 ḳa-ta-a-ni amēl Pu-ḳu-du u mât Tam-tim
 3. i-zi-'i-ru-na-a-šu u lum-nu a-na bît ilâni^(pl)-ka
 kap-du ina da-a-ku u ḫu-bu-ta-a-nu
 uḳ-ta-at-tu-na-a-šu kul-la-a-ti
 6. ma-ku-tu ina ḳâti-šu-nu ni-it-tal-lak
 a-du-u mât Tam-tim mât Pu-ḳu-du u amēl Gu-ra-sim-mu
 di-ki a-na muḫ-ḫi-ni it-ta-šú-ú-ni
 9. šarru bēl-a-ni e-mu-ḳu a-na ki-tir ša bît ilâni^(pl)-šu
 [liš]-pur nikasi ša šarrâni abê-ka a-na ^{il}Sin
 [id]-di-nu ḳâti amēl nakru-tim ta-kaš-šad u mâti ina ḳât šarri
 12. [i-te]-el-lu-ú u mât Ašur^{ki} ina pa-ni-šu-nu
 amēl rabûti ša šarri a-na ma-aš-šar-ti
 i-ni it-ta-aš-šu i-ši-ru-u

15. ka-ad hu(?) bu(?)
 šarru ni
 ma

. . . . W]e who in the midst of the P]uḫudu against us. [Unto the king] our lord, we have sent and troops for our assistance [let him s]lend. The Gurasimmu have been loyal, the enemy against them has come, because they have seen this and because news from Assyria is lacking and none of the pre-fects has come to their assistance, they have given their support to the enemy. Eridu and Ur, which are left, have chosen to go over to the enemy. Now all the Gurasimmu have become hostile. There is not a city among them which has remained loyal to Assyria more than Ur and Kisig and ŠA.AD. iddin-na and the king, our lord, knows that Ur is in the midst of Akkad (Rev.) because of its pre-eminence(?) with its temples we are ruined. The Puḫudu and the Sealand hate us and they plan evil against thy temples. With slaughter and raids they are making an end of us, everything is destroyed, we shall fall into their hands. Now the Sealand, the Puḫudu, and the Gurasimmu are mustering, they have risen against us. Let the king, our lord, send troops for the protection of his temples. The treasure which the kings, thy fathers, gave to Sin, the enemy will capture, and the land will slip away from the hand of the king, and the land of Assyria before them The officials of the king lift up their eyes toward the fortress.

This letter consists of an appeal for reinforcements and furnishes a glimpse into the situation in lower Babylonia during the earlier stages of Šamašsumukīn's revolt, cf. No. 12. Although the introduction is lacking, it seems evident from the first plural throughout, together with the cities named, that it is a community which addresses the king; and from the prominence given to Ur and its temples, in particular, to the temple of the god Sin, one might refer our text to the people of Ur. We have also letters from Kisig, cf. H. 210, 736, 1121. Furthermore a comparison of the present text with H. 942 may point to the people of the city of Šartena(?) as the authors. For the reading of the name, cf. Bezold, *Catalogue*, V, p. 2183, and compare the writing of the name in H. 942, obv. 11, ^{a1}ŠA. NIN. iddin-na with the present text, obv. 17, ŠA.AD. iddin-na. I am inclined to think that we have the same name underlying these three forms, perhaps more abbreviated in one case. A fresh collation of the tablets may determine the matter.

Obv. 3. On the occurrence of the Puḫudu in H. cf. Streck, *MVAG*, IX, 32-34.

Obv. 6. On the reading Gurasimmu cf. Streck, *AJSL*, XXII, 212, but see Schiffer, 123, where the present reading seems to have been overlooked. Some form of שִׁפָּר is to be restored in this line, perhaps the I² precativ as I have indicated.

Obv. 12. rêḫi pm. of רִיחַ.

Obv. 13. The last sign of this line in my text is SÍB, i.e., rê'û. Dr. Ylvisaker's suggestion to separate it into iz-zu commends itself by the context thus secured, while the change involved is very slight.

Obv. 16. On ianu, cf. Ylvisaker, § 34.

Obv. 17. For the rendering of alla see Ylvisaker, 52 f.; but cf. Thompson, *LBL*, p. xxxvi, and glossary, p. 199.

Rev. 1. rešsu lit. its head, i.e., perhaps "its headship" (?). E^{pl}-ni may be an abbreviation for bît ilâni, cf. rev. 3 and 9.

Rev. 8. My text reads id-di-šû-û-ni. Perhaps it is better to read it-ta-šû-û-ni, cf. H. 942, rev.6.

12. K. 471

OBVERSE

a-na šar mâtâti bêl-i-ni ardâni-ka
amêl Uru^{pl} amêl ši-bu-tu

3. u amêl šihrûte ^{il}Sin u ^{il}NIN.GAL

a-na šar mâtâti bêl-i-ni lik-ru-bu
umu-us-su ^{il}Sin u ^{il}NIN.GAL

6. a-na balât napšâti ša šarri bêl-i-ni nu-šal-la
a-ni-ni u (?) ^m^{il}Sin-tab-ni-ušur
ma-aš-šar-ti ša šarri bêl-i-ni

9. ni-it-ta-šar a-na bu-bu-ti-fa
[šî]ra ša amêl mârê (pl)-ni u mârâti (pl)-ni
[tul-t]a-kal-u-ni ma-aš-šar-ti

12. [ša šarri] bêl-i-ni ûl nu-maš-šir
[^m ^{il}Sin]-tab-ni-ušur ša e-ku-ti
[u bu-bu]-ti ina ma-aš-šar-ti

15. [ša šarri] bêl-i-ni it-ti-ni
[u-ša-a]m-kir-u ina šêpâ
[^m ^{il}Šam]aš-šum-ukîn iṣ-bat

18. aš-šu a-di . . .

EDGE

. ka aš-šu a-di
. il-li-ka

REVERSE

- Šamaš-šum-uk[īn . . .
 ni(?)-iš ēni a-na pa-an
 3. šarri bēl-i-ni ūl il-li-kan
 en-na ki-i il-li-ka
 dib-bi ša iḫ-bi(?) -ma a-ta(?)
 6. u sal-lu la-a ištu ša ram-ni
 a-na muḫ-bi ^m i^l Sin-tab-ni-ušur
 arad ^{amēl} da(?)'a-an-nu
 9. ša šarru bēl-i-ni i-dib-bu-ub
 šarru bēl-a-ni lu-ú i-di

(Obv.) To the king of the lands our lord. Thy servants, the people of the city of Ur, old and young. May Sin and NINGAL be gracious to the king of the lands, our lord. Daily unto Sin and NINGAL do we pray for the life of the king, our lord. We and Sin-tabni-ušur have kept the watch of the king, our lord. For my hunger wilt thou make me to eat the flesh of our sons and daughters? The watch of the king our lord we have not forsaken. Sin-tabni-ušur, whom distress and hunger, in the watch of the king our lord with us, have caused to revolt, has submitted to Šamaššumukīn [three lines too broken to translate]. (Rev.) Šamaššumukīn the lifting up of the eyes, before the king, our lord, he did not come. Now that he has come, the word which he has spoken captured(?) not because of myself. Concerning Sin-tabni-ušur, the servant of the judge of whom the king our lord has spoken, the king, our lord, will surely know.

In this letter we have both an appeal and an apology from the citizens of "Ur of the Chaldees," presenting the counterpart to the situation in No. 11, probably at a somewhat later stage of the revolt. While the outlook in No. 11 is undoubtedly desperate enough, cf. rev. 2-13, still the conditions are more general, other cities are included, and there is no reference to the straits of famine nor is there evidence that overtures have already been made to the rebels, such as characterize the present text. This letter when complete may have thrown some valuable light on the question whether Sin-tabni-ušur, the governor of Ur, yielding to the pressure of Šamaššumukīn, actually revolted, cf. Johnston, *JAOS*, XVIII, 148-49; Johns, *LCL*, p. 354. Unfortunately the text is too badly damaged at the very points where the desired information might have been forthcoming. The restorations proposed, particularly in obv. 16, if assured, would confirm the contention that

Sin-tabni-uşur under pressure of siege and famine finally took the side of the rebellious brother.

Obv. 7. On Sin-tabni-uşur's governorship and his relations to the king cf. Johnston on K. 824, *JAOS*, XVIII, 148-50, and Klauber, 101 f., on H. 754.

Obv. 11. The conditions of the line suit the reading tultakalûni III² of אכל.

Obv. 16. The traces before kir may stand for am.